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the practical considerations of commerce as well as the theoretical principles of the *laissez-faire* economy were reasserting themselves.

There is an error on page 123 in the statement of tonnage duties. There was no discrimination between nations in treaty and not in treaty relations, such provision having been stricken out of the bill by the Senate. The reference at the bottom of this same page is apparently a misprint.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Hill's study will be continued and made to include other stages in the American policy.

O. L. ELLIOTT.

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*Ethics of Citizenship.* By JOHN MACCUNN, M. A. Pp. 223. Price, \$1.50. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1894.

At last there has been given us a discussion of the ethics of citizenship at once so clear, so succinct and so candid as to be of almost universal interest and usefulness. In a style terse but never heavy, the writer has presented in the space of 200 pages a logical and invigorating analysis of such vital topics as these: "The Equality of Men," "Fraternity," "The Rights of Man," "Citizenship," "A Plea for the Rule of the Majority," "The Tyranny of the Majority," "Party and Political Consistency," "Elements of Political Consistency," "Democracy and Character," "Some Economic and Moral Aspects of Luxury."

In agreement with Bentham, the writer attacks the eighteenth century Radicals' "Rights of Man," and emphasizes the distinction between so-called "rights" that are simply strong inclinations, and the real rights that admit of proof. Yet Bentham himself takes narrow if not untenable ground in limiting rights to only those advantages which have been legally enacted. "A right whose enactment is only deferred is not a right non-existent." After all, it is an empty phase of Democracy that dwells exclusively upon its rights. Not the wresting of rights should be the goal of citizenship, but the filling of life with those great positive ends for which the rights are merely preliminaries.

With advancing Democracy, majority rule seems the inevitable law of the future, a prospect which fills the Radical with hope, the Conservative with the gloomiest forebodings. Mr. MacCunn has little difficulty in laying bare the fallacy in the argument by which Bentham and the elder Mill justified the rule of the majority. Even granted that the aim of politics is to promote the happiness of the greatest number, and that each man will follow his own best interest as he sees it, does it follow that each man will see his own best interest aright?

If he is pursuing an illusion, may not the general welfare suffer shipwreck in a majority vote? Nor does Mr. MacCunn, like the younger Mill, base a faint-hearted confidence in majority rule upon the artificial safeguards and checks, with which a far-sighted aristocracy might surround the nascent democracy. Instead, he faces squarely this question: "Taking an electorate such as that of our own country [England], is there reason to think that the average man possesses faculties and qualities, on the whole, adequate to the decisions which, as a citizen, he has to face?" In his opinion there *is* reason so to think; he justifies the rule of the majority because he finds in the average citizen these requisite qualifications: (1) a sense of the broad ends of national well-being; (2) a modicum of practical shrewdness, of common sense, equal to the task of passing upon simple issues, and of choosing as representatives, not as mere delegates, men of superior intelligence and integrity to grapple with the more complicated problems; (3) a degree of public spirit at least equal to that found in any other class, and a freedom from those narrow, selfish interests which so hopelessly distort the political judgment. The conclusion of Mr. MacCunn's examination of the rule of the majority and of party and political consistency is that "a reasonable presumption in favor of Majority as the ultimate court of practical appeal, and an acceptance of Party as a necessary instrument of action, are alike justifiable only in so far as the individual asserts a self-reliant independence of conviction and judgment."

If the most important problem which democratic society has to face in the future is to find securities against "virtuous materialism," nothing could be more relevant than the discussion of luxury. Economist and ascetic moralist unite in its condemnation. From this judgment Mr. MacCunn dissents, urging that luxuries well chosen and rightly used are the allies of morality, the aids of moral and intellectual development.

The book is tonic throughout. Even where the topic is old, it is treated with a freshness and vigor that will not fail to provoke thought and clarify the judgment.

GEORGE H. HAYNES.

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*A Policy of Free Exchange: Essays by Various Writers on the Economical and Social Aspects of Free Exchange and Kindred Subjects.* Edited by THOMAS MACKAY. Pp. xx, 292. Price, 14s. London: John Murray, 1894.

Mr. Thomas Mackay will be remembered as the editor of a work published several years ago with the title of "A Plea for Liberty."